لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

إن الدين عند الله الإسلام

THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS

December 1965

كل من عليها فان
ويبقى وجه ربك ذوالجلال والاكرام

All that is on earth shall Pass away. And the Person of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour shall alone abide !

EDITORS

S. D. AHMAD

M. G. AHMAD

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT IN ISLAM

The Promised Messiah, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was born in 1835 in Qadian, a village in India. In the eightees of the 19th century, he was called to the office of world Reformer to combat the current of anti-religious philosophies and to explode the Christian theory of redemption based on the fiction of Christ's death on the Cross and to tell the Christians and Muslims to call off their hope for a second visit from Christ as he had been gathered to his forefathers and barred like all mortals from coming back to the world; and that he, the Promised Messiah, had come instead.

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The Promised Messiah initiated the Ahmadiyya Movement (1) to revive Faith in God, challenging rival churches to a spiritual contest to seek Divine sanction for the religion He favoured, through prayer and appeal to Him for guidance and arbitration in the matter, by means of His signs (2) to reestablish the glory of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and to expound and disseminate spiritual beauties and moral excellencies of the teachings of the Holy Quran (3) to wean men from war-like tendencies and to educate world opinion in favour of renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes (4) to infuse hope, faith and courage in the drooping hearts of Muslims and all the depressed races and nations of the world (5) to warn the exploiters, slave-drivers, and pedlars in sin against the evil consequences of their evil ways (6) to collect under one banner all the true followers of Islam and lovers of peace and (7) to inculcate among them the spirit of tolerance, goodwill and self-less fellow-service and a feeling of true brotherhood.

The Promised Messiah passed away in 1908 and was succeeded by his foremost votary and closest companion Hazrat Haji Hakim Maulvi Nooruddin as Khalifatul Masih I. After his death in 1914, the Promised Son of the Promised Messiah, Hazrat Haji Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad was chosen as the Khalifatul Masih II. During his 52 years of Imamat the Khalifatul Masih II organized a world-girdling chain of mosques and missions. On his death on November 8, 1965, the electoral college named with one accord Hafiz Mirza Nasir Ahmad, the late Khalifatul Masih's son and the Promised Messiah's grandson, the Khalifatul Masih III.

For further information about the Movement, its activities and aims and objectives or literature, enquiries may be addressed to the nearest Ahmadiyya Mission or direct to

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It is open to all for discussing problems connected with the religious and spiritual growth of man, but it does not give any assurance to publish all articles, nor does it accept any responsibility for views expressed by contributors.

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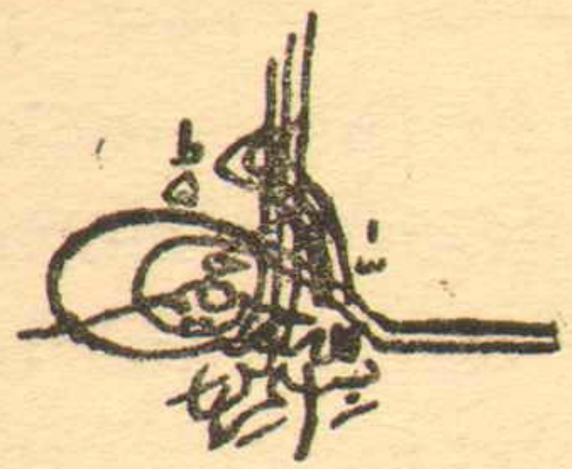

نحمدہ ونصلی علی رسولہ الکریم

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يبقٰى وجه ربک ذوالجلال و الاکرام

The sign of Mercy Promised to the Promised Messiah and granted to us, illumined the firmament like a meteor, orbiting the globe for 52 long years. The late Imam Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II, Commander of the Faithful, was born in Qadian on Jan. 12, 1889, assumed office of Khilafat on March 14, 1914, breathed his last on Nov. 8, 1965, and was laid to his final rest on November 9, 1965, by sixty thousand grief-stricken devotees, gathered together from different parts of the hemisphere to pay their last homage to their beloved Leader, preceptor, exampler and comforter.

An epoch came to its close that sad day,
A chapter ended on that fateful morning.

For fifty years the storm - centre of great controvesy, the late Hazrat was the only figure in contemporary history who had to face a series of challenges, who rose to the occasion everytime a crisis developed, who rode every storm that brewed, who never asked but never refused quarters, who hated none, forgave all, but made no compromises with fate or foe on principles and withstood tarnadoes of hate, abuse and calumny with calm dignity and cheerful resignation.

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In 1914 when he was elevated to Imamat, he found an empty treasury a determined opposition, an embattled atmosphere, and a barrage of vituperation and against that a devout following, a tremendous resolve to re-activate the Khilafat and an unshakable faith in the righteousness of his stand stemming from the promise of Divine protection granted to him, in the critical hour, when the rift came to the surface with all the force of its impact.

As years rolled by, the Amir-ul-Mominin succeeded in establishing (1) A strong centre as the main base of Islamic propagation through funds collected regualarly from a permanent membership sharing his solicitude for the revival of the glories of Islam. (2) A climate of Islamic social tradition breathing brotherly love in organized community life, imbued with a mass sense of public morality and religious piety and faithful unity under stable leadership. (3) A seat of learning radiating light all around through highly organized institutions manned by eminent scholars and research students working with single-minded devotion to

maintain a well-stocked armoury of arguments, reasons, signs, logic and evidence having direct bearing on the beauties of Islam and the excellencies of its Holy Founder, the Blessed Prophet Muhammad of Arabia. (4) A chain of missions and mosques covering whole continents—Africa, Asia, Europe, America, disseminating freely Islamic literature through the media of all the principal languages of the world.

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Under his auspices, the Movement came to be regarded as the spearhead of Islamic activity and a tremendous force to be rockoned with; it could not be bypassed.

He gave to mankind his heart, his whole life, every moment of it devoted to their spiritual welfare ; he worked for peace between man and man and between religious Churches as between States.

He believed ardently in the future of Islam and in the future of man under God, straining every fibre of his being in the effort to introduce man to his Maker. With this end in view, he gave the world rich literature in the shape of a voluminous commentry of the Holy Quran, besides a host of books and treatises and lectures on all important topics related to his main life theme, the religion of Islam.

A man of tremendous energy and unconquerable faith, the Amir-ul-Mominin kept up the tempo of community activity in behalf of his Islamic revival campaign to the limit of his capacity, until, through

sheer exhaustion, his dynamic personality succumbed to the processes of nature, confining him to the sick-bed. Still he refused to give up and continued directing the Movement from his sick bed with utmost concern, thus sharing in a practicable manner, the last sentiments of Jesus : "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak".

The voice that thundered for 52 years across the world stage, calling men to the Tabernacle of God, has now been stilled for ever, but its echoes shall resound till eternity to the ends of the world, in the recesses of human hearts, as long as these hearts beat.

O Lord, shower Thy choicest blessings on him and his ! Amen.

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The New Imam

On the dark night of November, 8, 1965, a group of tired, broken-hearted, sad-eyed men, to be exact, 205 in number gathered inside the mosque, the Masjid Mubarak. They dragged their feet to the central niche where they huddled together in solemn silence. They were there to perform an act of supreme importance that would affect the course of the Movement and with that the future of their generations and indeed of the entire mankind.

The Amir-ul-Mominin Khalifatul Masih II had

expired in the early hours that Monday morning. They were called upon to elect his successor the same day. Their hearts trembled and their wills left them in a vacuum. Who were they to choose the Khalifatullah ! God will lead their hands to the right man, they hoped, believed and prayed.

Outside the mosque, a huge mass of mourners waited in equally solemn silence, with fear in their hearts battling with hope—fear of division and hope of an agreed vote.

The night was cold. It was getting late. It was getting dark.

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The 205 closetted together offered a short humble prayer. The prayer was answered. With one accord Hazrat Hafiz Mirza Nasir Ahmad was elected Khalifatul Masih III. The crowds outside hailed the verdict with thunderous acclaim and rushed to the new Imam with eager offers of allegiance.

The community stood together that day. It had weathered the storm. The prayer had been heard. A new chapter had begun and a new dawn was breaking out.

May the community gain from strength to strength in the service of Islam, under the guidance of the new Imam. Amen !

Our Annual Gathering

The modern age is the age of get-together; everywhere men are organizing meetings and conferences to deliberate common issues and to organize better for promotion of common interests. With growing means of transport, travel and communication, men and the products of their hands and ingenuity have been mobilized, being in demand in every corner of the world. With this frequency of contact, the sphere of conflict has also widened as much as the sphere of cooperation. In order to resolve these problems and thrash out diverse issues, meetings of men and minds have assumed a significance and an urgency unprecedented in the history of nations.

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To meet the growing spiritual needs of the spiritually-starved modern man, God, through the Promised Messiah, invited mankind to meet under Him in a spirit of brotherhood and set the pace for the nations of the world in search for peace and brotherly love, the only key to cultural progress and peaceful co-existence. The Ahmadiyya Gathering has been taking place annually from the last seventy-four years, first in Qadian, for a couple of years in Lahore (1947—48) and since 1949 in Rabwah, providing (1) a forum for mental edification through learned discourses on important themes touching community interest, and the general welfare of Muslims, in the context of the current conflict as between secular ideologies and

Islam on the one hand and as between Islam and other religious faiths on the other hand, (2) renewal of old friendships, in many cases maturing into close blood-ties (3) opportunities for striking new friendships (4) and offering a spiritual refresher course.

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These meetings were, in the early years, small gatherings of the devout coming from far-off places but, have gradually snowballed into mass assemblies of as many as 80 to 90 thousand participants.

The Ahmadiyya Annual Meeting, due to be convened for the current year, from 26th to 28th December, is planned to be held on the 19th to 21st December ; the dates had to be advanced by a few days owing to the Ramadhan falling due on or about the 24th December, according as the moon appears. It is hoped that members will do their level best to gather together as usual and persuade fellow-Muslims of other denominations to join us and share with us our spiritual experience and our solicitude for the supremacy of the Faith. This year they will be missing the Khalifatul Masih ll of blessed memory who is no more among us. But they will find his place filled by his eminent son, Hafiz Mirza Nasir Ahmad. It is imperative on account of the demise of the one and the succession of the other, that members get together in larger numbers to renew their pledge to work out the programmes to be laid by the new Imam to implement the resolve of the late Imam to establish and revive glories of Islam.

The Ramadhan

THE obligatory full-month fasting is one of the five cardinal imperatives of Islam. It did not however, originate with the Faith of the Holy Prophet, (may Allah bless him and his people and grant him and his followers His peace). It is an ancient and time-honoured form of worship and part of the ritual of many revered faiths. It was observed regularly by Jews and latter Jesus, in his own time, found and prescribed fasting and prayer as sources of great spiritual solace.

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In Islam, both the spirit and form of fasting emerge in fuller and luminous stature taking the shape of a sacred institution of unusual importance, serving as a beacon-light to the wayfarer in his journey to God. All appetites ranging from mental indulgence in prospects of carnal pleasure to appeasement of thirst and hunger, even tendency to justified retort in anger, are under heavy ban during the entire course of the month, for a specified period of time—pre-dawn to sun-down. This voluntary self-denial imposes a heavy embargo on otherwise wholly legitimate activity and becomes an act of supreme self-sacrifice qualifying the soul for Divine grace, as, it is through the harsh discipline of utterly voluntary fasting, that the worshipper demonstrates his readiness to surrender his whole world of passions, even lawful necessities, in obedience to His Command. When this

stage has been achieved as a permanent condition of the soul, the worshipper is then said to have attained to the state of *Islam*—full and obedient submission to His Maker.

Modern society aims at guaranteeing the individual certain basic rights : one of these is the unrestricted pursuit of happiness which seeks fulfilment through indulgence in all the demands of flesh. The entire human activity is centered around this objective and fuller life means a fuller and round-the-clock satisfaction of desire, passion, lust, whim and vanity. Islam defines human felicity as fulfilment through sacrifice and suffering in obedience to the will of God. The month of Ramadhan affords an exercise in subordination of physical appetite to the needs of spiritual nutrition. It forcefully distracts attention from pursuit of physical happiness pointing up the ultimate aim of human life—surrender to Divine Command.

The night heaven split and the earth quaked!

(*Shakila Soofi B.A.LL.B.*)

That night, that awesome night, heaven fell and the earth trembled. A star, the morning star, that rose on January 12, 1889, fell in the lap of eternity, on the 8th November, 1965.

It suddenly became dark, abysmal dark, inky dark and the night lengthened its shadows, its black, heavy shadows.

The sky was overcast, clouds, grey clouds gathered thick. It thundered and the heavens shook and the earth quivered as leaves quiver in the wake of a hurricane.

Time stood still. Hearts stood still. Tongues were mute. Eyes alone spoke, glistening eyes; they spoke through tears.

For fifty-two years there had been life, there been light and there had been love. Life was no more. Light was no more. The breath of Death, slow-moving death, had whiffed out both.

But love remained.

The Word had lived in flesh and lived with us and like ways of all flesh, it went its destined path, along the valley of decay. The flesh was no more.

But the word remained.

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Truth had tarried with us long, long enough to etch its image in souls, our erring but yearning souls, hungry souls, starving souls, millions of lonely souls, giving meaning to life and its sorrows and its pains and its pleasures and its pursuits.

On that day, that woeful day, life ebbed away, with all its sorrows and its pains and its pleasures.

But the pursuit remained. So had Truth bequeathed.

For 52 years, the moon shone; it shone bright and brilliant, lighting up the face of a sad earth where men chased shadows and where wilderness of false dreams and vain hopes kept them prisoners of their passing passions. His moonlight lit up before their tired gaze, new avenues of adventure, new vistas of hope and new valleys of dreams.

False dreams, vain desires and dark nooks were no more.

The Moon went down. The world was agnin dark; it was again still.

But hope remained.

Unto us was granted the Son, the Son promised to the Messiah, our Messiah. He lived and laughed and sorrowed and sighed with us, shedding light in our darkness warming our hearts in their freezing gloom, carrying our burdens, chasing away our cares, forgiving us our follies, sustaining us in our sorrows and sharing with us victories, his victories.

The Son is no more. He tarried with us long. He tarried with us but a while, Now he is no more.

But the Promise remains.

A candle died on March 13, 1914. A candle was lit up the next day. It glowed far and wide. Moths, millions of moths, brown, black, white, red and yellow moths, small and big moths, mother-moths and baby-moths, gathered around its flame, going about it in circles, now perching high, now diving low, all shedding their tiny wings and dying at its feet, to merge in its flame, to become part of its light.

The candle is no more. It flickered out on Monday, grief-laden Monday, the 8th of November, 1965, the night heavens fell and the earth shivered.

For 52 years there was music, happy and lilting music, enchanting souls and fortifying hope, faith and courage. It was all glory and grandeur. There was laughter in the air. A new world was in the distant horizon. The dawn was near, its early rays warming up hearts. Suddenly on the dark night of the 8th November, music, that sweet music, died away.

Time stood still. Hearts stood still. All laughter died out. The Sun went behind the clouds. The earth donned its mourning gown.

They laid the Amir-ul-Mominin Haji Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifatul Masih II, to his final rest, on Tuesday, the 9th November, 1965, in Rabwah.

That night, that awesome night, heaven fell and the earth quivered !

Kashmir Problem

N. R. A. G. Soofi

The Current Situation

Kashmir has been for the past 18 years the hardy perennial bedevilling Indo-Pakistan peace prospects. For the people of Pakistan, the pendulum has often swung from bright hope to black despair; Kashmir sometimes seemed as good as a ripe fruit waiting to be plucked and at times a distant land far beyond the reach of its own inhabitants. The State could have been a part of Pakistan without a war or a public referendum, if the British Tribunal of Mr. Radcliff had chosen to give a just award. His mind, swayed by Whitehall policies, decided to provide India the facility of access to Kashmir through the Muslim majority area of Gurdaspur district. The Hindu Mahraja of Kashmir dethroned by Muslim Patriots, was in a desperate condition and clutched at the strand of hope the Indian proposal for accession offered (1947). This infamous transaction put India astride the State where. Indian armed forces have since posed a threat to the security of Pakistan and stifled the voice of Kashmir calling for a plebiscite the Indian Note of Accession had promised.

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Subsequent hostilities in the State involving both India and Pakistan threatened a wider armed conflict. At the request of India U.N. intervened proposing demilitarzation of the State for the purpose of holding a fair and free plebiscite to enable the people of Kashmir to express their unfettered will in favour of the country of their choice (1948).

And their choice was clear—Kashmir was a preponderantly Muslim land and ethnically, culturally, economically, geographically and spiritually, a part of the Pakistan nation.

India had, therefore, good reasons to be afraid of the people's vote. It would have given the lie to all its claims, its pretensions and the philosophies India was preaching in favour of international

peace and international morality. Gandhi, Tagore and Nehru had put India on a high pedestal in the eyes of the world. Kashmirs' free vote could shatter the image they had built and point up the underlying hypocrisies, frauds, chicanery and chauvinism that India embodied and nurtured with assiduous duplicity and foxy cunning.

The U.N. made many attempts, some sincere, some half-hearted and some fake, until the Kashmir problem wound up in cold storage.

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The recent outbreak of War between Pakistan and India has brought home the fact that the Kashmir dispute is not a mere academic question and a cold issue. It is a powder keg that has been ignited. The bubble of India's armed might has burst in less than 3 weeks. Another 17 days and India would have been grovelling in dust before Pakistan. The great Powers, the self-appointed world plicemen at once stepped in with assurances of a permanent settlement of the dispute.

There is no satisfactory settlement in sight yet. India is licking its gushing wounds and covering up its shame with threats of renewed war. It is preparing feverishly, at the same time, to strengthen its own nerves on to reopen hostilities, it is not hard to guess. But one thing is clear. It refuses to talk about Kashmir. Even its President Radhakrishna, so long widely respected for his sedulously advertised faith in peace and public morality, would not agree to a plebiscite promised by India as a moral and international commitment.

If the Big Powers controlling and conducting the affairs of U.N. had been gifted with a modicum of sincerity, Indian leadership would think many times over, before flouting a solemn pledge. Why the question is still hanging fire is not hard to understand. The Big Powers, at least the more eflective of them, have obviously some motives which are now all too apparent to need any searching enquiry. Since the defeat of the Koumintang ruling party in China, India has been the darling of the U.S. Republicans. Since the defeat of Indian armies at the hands

of Chinese forces. India has been the big hope of the West, as a bastion of third world war, said to be a lucrative opening for the Big business interest of the G.O P. with Republicans offering full cooperation to Democrats in domestic field, the U.S. Administration must give way to Republican pressure for choosing India as the battle-ground. Nehru had been disabused of any reservations on the subject after the first brush Indian armies had with its sprawling neighbour. India accepted military aid all too willingly. When Nehru was no more, the new Indian leadership tore into shreds whatever remained of the moth-eaten mask of non-alignment. It was itching for war with China and wanted all the latest war missiles. The U.S. Congress was not so sure if it wanted war with China as Mr. Fullbright indicated in a press statement. The U.S. Congress was not sure if in case of a war India could deliver the goods as Senator Russels, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, observed.

The Rann of Kutch sealed the fate of India's case for further military aid from the West. India had belied all hopes and confirmed all misgivings. Its leadership had lost face at home and prestige abroad.

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India was desperate. It had only one friend left—Mountbatten. He offered to pull its chestnuts out of the fire apparantly without official British sanction. With his baneful blessings India again set on the course of suicide. It embarked on an undeclared war on Pakistan. The plan was to make a sudden thrust into the heart of the Western Wing of the country to divide it into two splinters and then dictate its own terms and install a government of its own stinky choice and take over Kashmir 'legally' in the stride. But all the plans of Indian leadership went awry. India lost prestige ; it lost territory it lost men ; it lost equipment and it lost a good part of a fighting force that it had sweated and starved for years to build up.

Currently Indian leadership is howling revenge. It is to bolster its own shattered morale and to pacify its disillusioned public. The conflict is being treated lightly : it is said that India was only "flexing its muscles" but it is being forgotten that it

has its neck dislocated in the process. It is at the same time re-organizing its beaten forces, refurbishing its diplomatic relations, reassuring erst-while friends and coaxing more aid. It is at the same time creating the Chinese bogey by inviting Chinese counter thrusts against its acts of aggression.

The Big Powers are not in a hurry. They are doing a lot of re-thinking but they are under heavy pressure and therefore not very anxious to take effective measures to resolve the situation. U Thant calls it difficult and complicated. It is neither difficult nor complicated. It is a simple and straight question. Will there be a plebiscite in Kashmir or a war? What do the Big Powers want? They can have a settlement if they so desire. There is no problem. Plebiscite has been held before in Saar and in Nicaragua. It can be held again. Since it has to be fair, Kashmir must be demilitarized and outside influences should be neutralized.

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Is there really a need for a plebiscite in Kashmir? Are Kashmiris divided on the issue? Are the ay's and the nay's running so perilously neck to neck that a plebiscite is called for to get at the truth? Have not the riots, marches, bombings and organized protests of Kashmiris furnished clear evidence of popular hatred that India enjoys in Kashmir? Has not the continued existence of a Free government in Kashmir belied the Indian pretensions? Have not the imprisonment of Sheikh Abdullah and dismissal of Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad debunked the Indian story that Kashmir is its willing ally? Has not, above all, India's continued stalling of every reasonable proposal for a plebiscite in Kashmir, exposed India's lies about its popularity in the disputed State?

The truth of the matter is that India has no warrant to be in Kashmir and its leadership knows and so does the U.N. This knowledge is fully shared by the Big Powers. The Big Powers coveted India's friendship. India is big; it offers depth from a military viewpoint. It has larger population. It could provide good soldiers. Now the picture is quite a bit altered.

The Big Powers have three alternatives before them :

(1) To prolong the issue until it grows cold, if such a course is possible under the present circumstances.

(2) To re-arm India for a triumphal march across the heart of Pakistan. But that has its attendant risk—risk of a major war involving many Eastern and some Western Powers until it develops into a world wide catastrophe. It is a grave decision and it is doubtful, that U.S. would sacrifice its own basic ideal...the right of self-determination of every people—and plunge the whole of mankind in a ghastly inferno for the petty objective of helping India defraud the people of Kashmir of their sacred, U.S. pledged, birthright to decide their own future through a freely exercised vote ; or even for the greater objective of liquidating Reds in Peking while at the same time strengthening their crimson comrades of the Kremlin.

(3) The third and the only honest alternative is the forthright implementation of U.N. resolutions on plebiscite which India was the first to propose and promise. It is a very honourable course bound to enhance the moral stature of U.N. and of the Big Powers and further opens the way for a better understanding between nations.

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Will the Security Council adopt that course to rehabilitate justice in Kashmir, the land of tears where virtue weeps in deep distress and vice laughs in shameless ripples.

From all accounts available through Press and Radio, it appears that Kashmir is again going to get the raw deal from the Big Powers. Rivers of blood must flow before the fate of this unfortunate land is decided finally. One way or the other, India should have a knock-out defeat that should seal its fate, before Kashmiris will be allowed to breathe free air in their own homeland.

The Ahmadi Muslims have a three-fold involvement in the issue. Firstly because of high patriotic considerations they feel Kashmir as Pakistan's natural and integral part, which must be freed from foreign yoke and are prepared to make all sacrifices

for the great objective. Secondly because of the fact that first organized movement sponsored by the Muslims of the sub-continent for the liberation of Kashmiri Muslims was headed by the Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement and they have since been working to that end with a sense of mission and cooperating with all elements committed to free Kashmir from Indian thraldom.

Thirdly, the Ahmadiyya community is spiritually involved in the issue as it represents the historic struggle between Islam and Hinduism initiated by Muhammad Bin Qasim and Mahmud Ghznavi at the unwarranted provocation of India. With the decline of Muslim Power following the British occupation of India, historic processes were once again in full swing and the pent-up hatred of centuries that had been simmering in the Hindu mind was unleashed in the shape of scurrilous, bitter, unfounded and unholy attacks on the Holy Prophet and his faith and his followers. The challenge was taken up with determined vigour by the noble Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement and pressed home. The atmosphere of bitter controversy that the battle of polemics engendered headed off historic tensions to their logical conclusion with the result that all attempts to keep India united broke down. When Assam refused to join the grouping envisaged in the British Plan of Indian Independence and Gandhi refused to dissuade Assam; India was divided on Hindu-Muslim basis. Two independent camps emerged. The historic conflict had been re-opened. Causes of clash were provided.

The British Plan of Indian Independence bore seeds of sabotage; its executors laid the groundwork for permanent Indo-Pakistan enmity when Radcliffe awarded Gurdaspur to India and Mountbatten accepted deposed Maharaja's plea for accession of Kashmir to India. With the transfer of Gurdaspur to India the way to Kashmir was opened to Indian armies. The Indo-Pak conflict continues mounting on both sides, the fate of the two countries hangs in the balance. It is the old struggle between Islam and Hinduism revived through the Brahman dream of Hindu religious revival that the humanizing influence of Islam

had pushed into obscurity for a thousand years. The Brahman intolerance of Pakistan draws its virus from history; it is seeking the collapse of Pakistan through Kashmir which offers it a strangle-hold on its neighbour. The Hindu-Muslim conflict is entering its last phase in Kashmir. Its annexation to Pakistan spells finis to the Brahman oligarchy in India and means guaranteed survival of Islam in the sub-continent. We are entrenched in our faith that India shall and must lose the battle and its present leadership give way to moderate statesmen so that a new era of cooperation between the two neighbours is ushered. Our faith is rooted in the justice of the cause of Kashmir Muslims and has been reinforced by Divine revelation granted to our Imam.

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The Imam of the Community Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad related a vision he had on June 11, 1956:

> "I saw my younger sister Amtul Hafeez Begum walking by my side at a place. There were some people squatting arround. Putting her mouth close to my ears, she said in a very low voice: "Don't spend much money on construction of houses; decorate the Darul-Hamd instead." I figured that she had learnt from some source that we were going to recover Qadian and therefore there was no use building houses in any other place. But in the dream I considered this advice to be wrong and thought it to be very harmful for any movement to be without its headquarters even for a short while. With this view in mind, I said emphatically in a loud voice. "Why do you speak in whispers? Everybody knows that we are bound to regain Qadian, but it does not mean that we should not build houses in any other place. When we recover Qadian, it will not pass into our hands quietly. When we recover Qadian, we will also get in the bargain Simla and Dalhousie together with other districts.

"I definitely remember the word Simla though I do not fully recall the word Dalhousie. But I think I had added the word Dalhousie when I mentioned Simla. In the same strain I talked of other districts which I believed we shall get. In fact I have a feeling at the moment that we will at that time obtain possession of Punjab together with Delhi or suburban parts of Delhi." (Alfazl Feb., 1957)

Addressing the Annual Ahmadiyya Meeting on 28th December 1956, the Imam of the Ahmadiyya Community, observed : "Pakistan is in danger from the East and the South. But circumstances are developing in such a manner as to pose grave dangers to India from the North and the East. The threat will be so grave that India inspite of power and potential, will not be able to withstand. It will also lose the sympathy of Russia. Go on praying therefore and don't entertain the idea that our Government is weak or that we are weak. God's finger is pointing out and I am seeing it. God will create circumstances that would alienate Russia and its allies from India.

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"Further, God will create a situation when America will feel that if it did not take timely steps, Russia and its allies will take the initiative. Do not despair therefore and put your trust in God. Allah, the Excellent, will create such a situation within a short period. The case of Jews is before your eyes. They waited for 1300 years and at last came back to Palestine. You will not have to wait 13 hundred years. It is quite possible that you may not have to wait even 13 years. It can so happen that you may not have to wait even 10 years and God will grant you some samples of His Blessings." (Alfazl March 15, 1957)

On a later occasion, elaborating his above statement he observed that the period he had mentioned would be counted from the day he made his above speech.

Kashmir is a live issue again. It has been made live with

the blood of martyrs who died in the defence of their land and with the blood of the enemy who planned to make short shrift of Pakistan but instead lost the round in the first gambit.

The U.N. is at present in no mood to do anything further than express pious hopes and insist on a cease-fire to be followed by another vacuum. India is banking on that phase to regain breath and to rearm for a final and deadly and swift push. Pakistan is not pinning its faith on U.N. or on Big Powers. We have had enough of the Security Council. We have had more than a surfiet of peace and patience homilies.

The issue of Kashmir is in the hands of God. In the Divine scheme, as we believe it is bound up with the fate of Qadian in some inexplicably mysterious way which only time will unfold. And the time is drawing near. The hour has already struck, the hour of India's doom. Dangers, lifesize dangers threaten its existence. India has been guilty of every crime, of arson, of genocide, of aggression, of violation of pacts and pledges, of lying and deceiving and of dividing human beings into supermen and social pariahs. It has committed every kind of tyranny in Kashmir and in East Panjab in particular and in other territories in general, against the Muslims. The Great struggle initiated 1300 years ago is drawing to its final stage, to the inevitable conclusion, the one and the only sequel, the death of India; and Kashmir is going to be the grave-yard of Indian Imperialism. It is up to India to choose, the choice is between ballot and bullet. What do the Indian leaders want in Kashmir, the former or the latter? It is about time India understood the mood of Islam.

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Genesis of the Trouble.

Islam was invited to India as an ally and stayed in saddle for 700 years with the cooperation of Hindu ruling class brought closer through continued matrimonial alliances. With the decline of Muslim power, India broke up into varying camps until British adventurers succeeded in establishing a stable central

government. The British had succeeded the Muslim monarchy and were suspicious of their Muslim subjects. The Hindu priestly class of Brahmans welcomed the change as the British proceeded to destroy the Muslim Educational System designed to produce statesmen, leaders and public spirited jurists, administrators and generals. The British needed low-paid clerks who could interpret the new master's commands and policy, content to stay at grass roots level both as barriers and bullies. The Hindus readily took up the new position for its obvious advantages. They were at the receiving end and the fruits of slavery were salaries from the Ruling Masters and greeze from their fellow-subjects. Lack of communication between the new rulers and the Indian masses was due to mutual fears and suspicions. The British were a new type of people with ruddy white skins, blue eyes and poisonous nails—a popular belief—because of their use of forks at the table - and an exotic tongue. The Muslims had lost not only power but also posts of profit and favours that flow from the throne. They lost leadership and therefore did not take very kindly to the new dispensation. Only two professions were left to them, tilling the soil and soldiering. The British could make use of their foodgrains and fighting spirit and they did. The Muslims fought the Imperial wars not because of their love for the cause or for the glory of Britian - they fought for dear life and became the finest fighting force that later won so much fame for the Indian army.

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The Hindus did full justice to their new role. Taking advantage of the new school system and opportunities it offered to learn the new sciences and new philosophies. In due course of time, the Hindu elements came to dominate every field of public life, from government administration to political agitation against the British, now working hand in glove with the infant but ambitious Labour Party of Britian and again with socialist movements committed to violent revolutions. All sources of government favours, jobs, contracts were closed to Muslims.

Muslims believed in One God, in an indivisible human

family and in the future of Islam. The Hindu belief ranged from agnostic concepts to monoism to 30 million gods represented in images, idols and pictures; in a human society divided into five grades, the Priestly Brahman, the Princely Kashatria, the small trader Vaish, the untouchable Shudras and the hated unclean non-Hindu Malich and in ultimate Hindu rule from Calcutta to Egypt. The Muslims had merited the fifth grade and title and were therefore subject to heavy economic boycott which crippled their earning power placing them in heavy indebtedness to Hindu shylocking bankers pressing fore-closure of their mortgages until the misery of the hard-pressed Muslims caused widespread and deep distress.

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Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after World War I was deeply resented by Indian Muslims who rose in open revolt. Hindus had been agitating vainly for Home Rule through petitions and appeals. Now they at once joined forces with Muslims against the common enemy, the British. This unity was sabotaged by Hindu powerful Arya Samajist group organizing a re-conversion compaign among Malakana Muslims of the home state of the Nehru family. Open split followed by riots, fiery speeches, hate propaganda and separatist movements were the order of the day, the Hindus fortifying all-Hindu militant organizations trained to capture power, Muslims agitating for an independent homeland in their majority areas. After world War II the Hindu Congress (the Indian National Congress) initiated belated attemtps to rally support for a United India with Hindu brute majority of 300 million to 100 million Muslims likely to freeze the existing economic disparity. It made no headway among Muslims. Their position can best be summed up in the reactions of a white American of the South to the desegregation decision handed by the Supreme Court of the United States. "You shall not make us drink from this cup."

The British announced their plan of Indian Independence (1947) partitioning the sub-continent into two independent states, India (for Hindus) and Pakistan (for Muslims), each state to

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comprise of contiguous majority areas.

Indian Princely States were free of British suzerain yoke and free to stay independent or opt for India or Pakistan as their geographical situation and people's wishes dictated. Hyderabad chose to stay independant. Superior Indian forces liquidated the week resistance state army offered. Hyderabad became part of India. India's plea was that its Hindu majority wanted to amalgamate with India. On the same plea, Indian troops over-ran Junagadh, a state that had opted for Pakistan. The Hindu majorities of the two states had not declared their choice for India in a public referendum. But when the Hindu ruler of Muslim majority Kashmir opted for India, its British Viceroy accepted the offer subject to the wishes of the people to be consulted later through a referendum. The wishes of the people of Kashmir, at any rate of its 80 p/c Muslims, were well-known to Mountbatten, to Gandhi, to Nehru, to Whitehall, to the British Conservatives, to the British Labour leaders and to the Maharaja. They had known the feelings of the Muslim majority of Kashmir State from 1931—on July 13 of that year a peaceful gathering of unarmed Muslims was subjected to uncalled for police firing without notice in Srinagar ; 21 were killed and hundreds wounded. Earlier, Muslims had demanded of the Maharaja (1) Freedom of Faith (2) an elected State Assembly (3) Freedom of Press and Public Speech (4) and Equitable share in all civil and military services. Their places of public worship had been closed down in Riasat. The Holy Scripture had been desecrated in several places. They had reasons to suspect the existence of an official plot to terrorize them to utter and unquestioning submission. Police-firing was followed by a bitter Hindu-Muslim clash. Hindu Military took Hindu districts of the capital under its protection and issued warnings to Muslims reinforcing its threats with frequent indiscriminate firing. Over 300 Muslims were arrested together with their leaders. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas Khan, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Maulvi Abdur Rahim.

These tragic events caused consternation in the entire

Muslim population of the state and resentment among the Muslims of India. An All-India Kashmir Committee was formed at Lahore. Its exective consisted of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, Maulana Mirak Shah, Maulana Ghulam Rasool and Abdul Majid Salik of the *Inqilab*, Syed Habib of '*ihe Siyast*, Malik Barkat Ali, Maulana Abdur Rahim Dard, Syed Zainulabedin Waliullah Shah and Syed Mohsin Shah. The Committee was sponsored and headed by Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Imam of the Ahmadiyya Community. The committee organized mass support and gave generous material help and unstinted moral backing and general direction to the liberation movement in the State.

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The battle of Kashmir had begun in right earnest, the struggl inside the state being directly linked with the nationaal movement at an all-India level. It found an echo not only in the Muslim Press of India but deeply stirred mass Muslim opinion in the entire land against Hindu Dogra tyranny and was interpreted by the Hindu Indian Press as a Hindu-Muslim conflict and the Hindu Press urging counter-measures to preserve its Hindu character. Gandhi and his Indian National Congress and its leader Nehru stood apart fiddling with British Indian politics. They had decided to hold aloof from the internal affiairs of the Princely States, as the majority of these principalities were Hindu-dominated, in most cases both the rulers and the subjects were Hindus and in some cases the Hindu subjects far out-numbered the Muslim citizens and their Muslim rulers had all the prospects a snowball has in hell. Mr. Gandhi and his chief rival Patel believed in preserving the status quo in these states as between the ruler and the ruled with slight modifications in favour of the underdog.

The Liberation struggle continued unabated in Kashmir under two name-plates Kashmir Muslim conference headed by Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas Khan, and Kashmir National Conference headed by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. As the demand of the Indian Muslim League for Pakistan, a homeland for Indian Muslims, gained momentum Kashmiri leaders invited Quaid-e-Azam

M.A. Jinnah to arbitrate their differences. He favoured the Muslim label and Muslim platform and Muslim leadership for the cause of Kashmir Muslims (1944). His visit to Kashmir where both parties outrivalled each other in feting him brought the Muslim Conference leaders much closer to him, thus further inter-weaving the Kashmir freedom movement with the larger campaign of the Indian Muslims for an Independent state.

When the British decided to quit under the pressure of public upheaval, Indian National Army defection organized by Subhas Chandara Bose with Japanese official encouragement and later under American pressure, hell was let loose in the Indian subcontinent. Hindu cut-throat organizations got busy liquidating unsuspecting and un-prepared Muslim minorities (1946-47). Reprisal riots broke out in Muslim majority areas. This was the mood of the country when the Maharaja of Kashmir imposed heavy taxation on Poonch, a 100% Muslim District. Eighty thousand local residents returning from service in World War II found it a heavy burden. They also found the freedom movement in full swing in British India and no less in their own Hindu-dominated State. They had fought for the defence of Britain; they had fought for the liberation of France. They had never fought for their own country, their own freedom and their own cause. Now was the chance of life and they did not let it go and offered under their young leader Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, stiff resistance to State troops forcing them to fight in quite a few clashes.

The Hindu Master Plan to liquidate Muslims was in the meantime extended to Kashmir with the consent of the Maharaja and with the certain knowledge of the British Viceroy Lord Mountbatten and was known to Gandhi, Nehru and their National Congress, in fact the knowledge was shared by the world Press when half a millian Muslims sought refuge in Pakistan and some 2,00,000 were butchered by State troops and Hindu gangsters.

It was at this time (Oct, 24, 1947) that Kashmiris rose in open and organized revolt and formed the Azad (Free) Kashmir Government which received in a very short time international cognization.

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Two days later (Oct. 26, 1947), the Maharaja Sir Hari Singh fled from the valley of Kashmir.

It was at this time that the British Indian Viceroy Lord *Louis Mountbatten* accepted the exiled deposed Maharaja's request for accession, subject to the expression of popular wishes in the matter. Guns boomed in Kashmir, Hindu troops and unofficial killers hunted Muslims from village to village, and battles were being fought by Maharaja's troops and won by Kashmiri Patriots and Kashmiri refugees flooded Pakistan; One must have the naivette of a Mountbatten to ask for a further proof of people's choice or of a ruler's fear of popular verdict.

It was at this time that Patriots thundered in the outskirts of Srinagar.

And it was at this time that India rushed its army to complete what state troopers and privately organized gangsters had failed to accomplish—the liquidation of Muslim resistance movement. The step, India said, was prompted by high considerations of public security threatened by outside tribal invaders and as soon as these elements cleared out, Indian forces would withdraw to enable a free public referendum on the choice of the state as between Pakistan and India.

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The Indian offensive largely failed in its objective and as resistance threatening the security of Pakistan as much as its economic stability through another large influx of Kashmiri Muslims hounded out of their homeland, India and Pakistan got involved in the military conflict. It soon appeared to India that no foreign armies could undo what Pakistan's civil population had achieved.

It referred the dispute to U.N. offerring to abide by the vote of the people of Kashmir.

The Security Council of the U.N. proposed a ceasefire to be followed by a plebiscite. It appointed a commission (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan) to visit the subcontinent and bring about peace through a plebiscite agreement in consultation

with the two governments.

India accepted the UNCIP Resolutions of Aug. 13, 1948 and Jan. 5, 1949, re-affirming its faith in the democratic method of a free plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir as to the future status of the state.

India agreed to abide by the vote of the people. The Indian official spokesmen explaining the Indian stand on Kashmir's freedom of choice had said that it could "either accede to India or remain independent with a right to claim admission as a Member of the United Nations—all this we have recognized to be a matter for unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir (Security Council proceedings of Jan. 2, 1948). This was not the first time India had expressed itself in favour of Kashmir's freedom of choice in respect of its future status. The Indian Viceroy Mountbatten in his letter of Oct. 27, 1947, addressed to the Maharaja had stated "the question of the state's accession should be settled by a conference of the people".

In a cable to Mr. Attlee, then British Prime Minister, Nehru proferred the assurance "Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or state must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people and we adhere to this view." Mr. Attlee conveyed the contents of the cable to Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Nehru sent a similar telegram to Liaqat Ali Khan saying that the issue of accession was "subject to reference to the people of the state."

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In a further telegraphic reference to India's position on the right of the Kashmir people to decide the accession issue, Mr. Nehru assured Liaqat Ali Khan that it was '*not merely a pledge to your government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world.*"

Indian Government's white paper on Kashmir (1948) laid down "the question of accession is to be decided finally in a free plebiscite: On this there is no dispute."

Speaking in the Indian Parliament, Mr. Nehru said (Aug. 7, 1952): "The ultimate decision will be made in the minds and hearts of the men and women of Kashmir and not in this parliament."

The assurance was repeated in a press communique issued on Aug. 20, 1953. The 'pledge' had become an international commitment. It was never repudiated but whenever steps were urged by Pakistan and taken by U.N. to achieve its implementation, Mr. Nehru hesitated and hedged. His objections can be summed up as under:

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1. Non-Kashmiri Indian troops must stay on in Kashmir but Azad Kashmir forces, an armed body of patriots, must be disbanded.

2. India was a secular state and a plebiscite in Kashmir would again cause influx of population from India to Pakistan and Pakistan to India. He forgot the fact that Muslim Indians were being continuously pushed across the India border through well-planned riots, a recurring feature of Indian politics. Muslims were excluded from all civil and military parts and contracts and licenses and Industry and squeezed out of the economic life of the country. In fact all the minorities shared more or less a like fate-Shudrus Sikhs and Christians were discriminated against and all top jobs and leadership positions were reserved for the Brahmans who dominated central and state governments, banking, industry, press, foreign office, shipping and commerce.

3. India was a democracy and Pakistan a theoratic state; Pakistan has had for a long time a Christian Chief justice of the Supreme Court with India excercising its popular vote invariably in making the rich Brahmans richer and its poor minorities poorer, and its dumb Shudras, Christians, Muslims and Sikhs mute.

4. Pakistan had entered into military pacts and the balance of power in the sub-continent had been upset therefore the people of Kashmir must forfeit their right to speak for themselves. When India entered into a military agreement with U.S. and U.K. against its neighbour China, Indian objection stood.

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5. A.U.N.Police force in Kashmir was unacceptable—a "foreign" force could not be tolerated on the state soil but the Indian contingent patrolling the cease-fire line in Korea was not "foreign" in the Korean peninsula!

6. Pakistan must be declared an aggressor, insisted Nehru. The U.N. Security Council would not favour him with its verdict. It was for Kashmiris to say and they would give verdict in a free plebiscite; the Security Council naturally therefore could not anticipate the people's decision.

It was to escape that verdict that India planned to evade a plebiscite and stalled every move aimed at putting India in the dock. The United Nations Commission, Sir Owen Dixon Dr. Graham, Gunner Jarring, all tried their luck but reported failure.

Nehru, however, could not muster the strength to repudiate his pledge. He had some self-respect left for himself and therefore all he could do was to hem and haw whenever the subject was brought up before him. He had a reputation to defend. Now that he is dead, Shastri has stepped in his shoes—a little pigmy with all the inferiority complex of an obscure shrimp, he knows he has no stature in politics, no personal weight in the international arena, therefore, without the least scruples about honour or obligations or decency, he can easily repudiate commitments, turn down cheques and dishonour bills that have become due for payment.

Can U.N. Deliver Goods.

Pakistan leadership was confident of the justice of their case. It was so simple they thought and believed the Charter was clear on the point and the U.N. conscience equally clear. When the Pakistan delegation returned home with the U. N. resolution endorsing a plebiscite, they expected a walkover in Kashmir. They had little expected the turn events took, the way the case was allowed to linger on and the manner in which the U.N. condoned Indian delaying tactics ; they had, in particular, never had doubts about the attitude of U.S. the chief author of the U.N. Charter. It appears Pakistan leadership never bothered to look beyond the Promissory Character of the UNCIP resolutions and were little aware of the importance of the tug of war that determined the attitude of Big Powers towards each other—it was naively assumed that U.S. and U.S.S.R. tussle would continue and U.S. policy will remain equally static. Little did they anticipate the break-down of Indo-China friendship and still less did they suspect rapproachment, even of a limited character, between the East and the West. The entire picture is changed today. The United States values Indian friendship far more than that of any other Asiatic nation. Its size, its hostility to China, its volume of trade, its prattle about democracy, its secularization thuggery, all have an appeal — even its hunger evokes response ; its magnitude poses a challenge to the American mind used to meeting challenges in a big way. If the American were a hesitating Hindu-type miserable miser, he would not be the enterprizing mass-scale heavy industry-owning world banker lavishly experimenting in the stratosphere without having to ask the people to tighten their belts.

The U.N. has no roots, no independent entity ; it owns not a strip of land, air or sea, has no police force and in fact does not exist except in its charter. It is an anonymity and can have identification only when nations involved in a dispute accept and implement its decision. It is a paper tiger that can claw at none unless an Eisenhower decides to exercise the influence the White House enjoys among U.N. membership. Then things do get moving and results are quick. And an Eisen-

hower or for that matter a Johnson would not move unless a situation arose that threatened world peace seriously.

That the situation in Kashmir is a potent threat to world security has been demonstrated during the last Pak-India War. Why the U.S. did not move fast enough and when it did why it did not strike at the root of the problem are serious questions disturbing all peace-lovers in this country. Is it true that India had the Big Powers' OK before it started the fireworks and they intervened when they saw the Big Bully buckle under? What was their objective? Did they want Pakistan to forget Kashmir? Could they then enroll Pakistanis in the War they are said to be planning against China? These are all conjectures but they are matters of seirons concern. The way India has been humoured lends support to the view generally held in Pakistan.

But can US and USSR work together in such a Project with the amount of confidence and secrecy and sincerity and faith necessary for the operation. They worked together before and they can work again. But they fell out before and know better. There is too deep distrust of one another's intention to permit the risk of a joint adventure of this magnitude against a giant ideologically wedded to the Kremlin.

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Besides the U.S. is not a totalitarian state. The White House does not hold a *carte blanche* to commit the nation to Atomic World War I. America has a prosperous industry, a world market commanding trade, a happy people believing ardently in living and helping others live and in democratic values. They cannot be hustled or manouvered into a global disaster. They fight for a cause. They could have fought Russia but even a limited Test ban Treaty roused them in favour of peace. If they knew, (they are only perhaps dimly aware) of the great advantages the China trade holds for U.S., they would easily break the ice with the Big Buyer in the Far East. China like Pakistan and in fact ice the with like every other Asio-African nation (with the possible exception of India) and post-war European nations wants peace for progress. It is a poor country with unlimited, untapped resources and 700 million mouths to feed. It needs American foodstuffs, American

machinery, American technicians and can be a paying consumer market of American products for a 100 years to come. The commercial intercourse between the two nations can be productive of many other side-advantages to both the peoples and possibly create a sense of communication paving the way for peaceful co-existence and better understanding. Pakistan realized the advantages of good neighbourliness with China some ten years ago and in spite of ideological differences plans to work out all arrangements agreed upon in the field of trade and cooperation. It is fully realized and equally fully appreciated in Peking that Pakistan is an Islamic State. It is equally well realized in Pakistan that People's China is a Communistic State ideologically as well as organizationally. It is certainly not India's hostility towards Pakistan that has decided Pakistan in favour of peace with China. Pakistan offered friendship on honourable terms to India too. India could not disgorge Kashmir. It refused to put to test to the democratic process of plebiscite to determine the final issue.

Pakistan has a duty to demand for Kashmir, even more as has Kashmir the inalienable right to, a free plebiscite. Pakistan and India differed over Kashmir and sought to decide the issue in the battlefield. The U.N. in effect the U.S. and to almost the same degree of responsibility, the USSR, intervened proposing arbitration through the vote of the Kashmiri people. These Powers, the U.S. in particular must honour that stand and tell India to likewise honour the bill. With this issue settled, with trade relations between U.S. and China revived, with India and China agreeing to resolve their border dispute, (may be through the good offices of Pakistan,) prospects of peace could brighten in Asia and once the ball was set rolling, all the other Asian states could be persuaded to settle their differences peacefully and expeditiously so that the fear of Asia becoming the battle ground in the Atomic World War is dissipated and the ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-educated millions of the great continent can enjoy a long-deserved spell of peace after a 200-year long gloom of slavery and ill-health. This is something far happier than the prospect of a mass decimation of humble Chinese working their hoes in their terraced gardens or of the poor Indonesians plying their fish-carrying boats from Island

to island. It is something that has the thunder of a challenge and worthy of the enterprizing spirit of the pioneering American taxpayer who is sharing the burden of others through aid and relief agencies on no mean a scale.

Self-determination is the right of every people—right to choose the pattern of government, how they would like an administration to work as against how an adiministration will want a people to behave. "I cannot be told" is the recognized and respected stand of an American citizen and why should the Kashmiri or for that matter any other people be told what to do and what not to do. What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. It was this right the right to self-assertion that decided the American against British rule. The Kashmiri has decided to manage his own house the way the American did. The civil rights fight in the deep South has received the sanction of the U.S. Congress. It is not the isolated struggle of the Negro any more. Many white citizens are risking their lives to restore all the rights of American citizenship to the coloured Americans.

The Kashmiri is today fighting the Battle of Bunker Hill. U.S. is committed historically, ideologically and legally to join hands with him. It is not committed to buttress Indian imperialism.

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Peace in Asia can be served only through a speedy liquidation of Indian threat to the neighbouring countries. So long as India is permitted to freely draw on the resources of U.S. it will continue its cultural, physical, political and economic genocide of its minorities. A 10-year U.N. trusteeship rule of India is the only means of ensuring justice to the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Indian Rajputs, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and untouchables. They have substantial populations but have been elbowed out of public life, some staying as second class citizens, others as suspects and scavengers. A four-power Executive body consisting preferrably of U.S., U.K., Canadian and Australian Commissions, should, under a U.N. mandate, see through the secularization process in Indian public life, in finance, in industry, in schools and colleges, in Parliament and army, with restoration of full

autonomy to Indian states of Rajputana, Kathiawar, Maharashtra and Sikh Punjab, small and big lumped together in groups and isolated states as single entities like Rampur, Bhopal, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, so that diversity in the midst of an imposed unity, can have its legitimate expression with option to coalesce for a United States of India or to stay out in U.N. membership. It is not Kashmir alone that seeks liberation from the Indian yoke. The Rajputs, Indian Muslims, Sikhs, Marhatas, Nagas, Madrasis, Shudras and Christians all clamour for justice which the Brahman oligarchy dominating the center and the state governments and assemblies is pledged to deny for the simple and even understandable reason that the Indian ruling Brahman has a Nazi way of looking at facts of life. It is a super race with a sacred right to be served by the rest of mankind. The very thought of the inferior stock agitating for any right to live according to its own light is not only repugnant but at the same time sacrilegious in the eyes of the High-caste.

The current situation as between Pakistan and India is drifting towards another clash. Mr. Shastri is handing out threats and ultimatums and is promising victories to Indian people and punishment to Pakistan. He is deliberately provoking China too. The Big Powers are evasive. In calling off India's bluff recently did Pakistan upset somebody's apple-cart? Possibly. That is why Permanent members of the Security Council are so reticent and plainly unwilling to honour their commitment to the people of Kashmir. Do they really want another and full-scale war between Pakistan and India? Such a war cannot be short-lived. It cannot remain confined to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It can and must involve more Powers and create widespread misery. What new pattern of life in Asia, or for that matter, in Africa and Europe may emerge in its wake, is hard to tell but two things are very clear, firstly India, modern India with its age-long graded society with the high-born Brahman stinking at the top will cease to pollute public and international life and secondly a Muslim nation of a larger Pakistan shall rise on the dying embers of Hindu imperialism, adding new vigour to generous human impulses finding expression through working systems of a practical nature, committed to peaceful international

co-operation and advancement of international morality.

Pakistan is today on the cross-roads of history. It has made a rendezrous with fate and is determined to keep the appointment, for the clear and dear objective of national survival. It has decided against a satellite situation in any camp. It prefers to stay in its own adole cottage than to live in the air-conditioned marble-pillared outhouse of the Big Brother.

It is no vain talk. Pakistan with all its apparent disabilities, has certain assets of a spiritual nature beyond the comprehension of materialistic India and its Western Allies. Throughout our 2-century thraldom, we have been disunited and disorganized and therefore an ineffective force. We have now learnt the lesson of history : "United we win and divided we fall." We were united for a short while, a very short while, on one platform. We won Pakistan. Now we are better organized and we again stood together under one leadership and with smaller forces valiantly pushed back the mighty invader. We stand closer today and by the grace of God much more heartened.

We were never more confident of God's generous help and of our victory under HIM.

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وَلَنَبْلُوَنَّكُمْ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنَ الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُوعِ وَنَقْصٍ مِّنَ
الْأَمْوَالِ وَ الْأَنْفُسِ وَالثَّمَرٰتِ وَبَشِّرِ الصّٰبِرِيْنَ
الَّذِيْنَ اِذَآ اَصَابَتْهُمْ مُّصِيْبَةٌ قَالُوْٓا اِنَّا لِلّٰهِ
وَاِنَّآ اِلَيْهِ رٰجِعُوْنَ اُولٰٓئِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ صَلَوٰتٌ
مِّنْ رَّبِّهِمْ وَ رَحْمَةٌ وَاُولٰٓئِكَ هُمُ الْمُهْتَدُوْنَ

" We will surely prove you by afflicting you in some measure with fear and hunger, and decrease of wealth, and loss of lives, and making failure to attend upon your efforts or bringing death upon your offspring ; but bear good tidings to the patient who, when a misfortune befalls them say, "we are God's creatures and His charge and must return to the Owner of the charge." Upon them shall be blessings from their Lord and mercy and they are the rightly guided."

(Al-Baqara, verses 156-158)

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